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CREOLE STUDIES.

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THE AUTHOR FEELS THAT THE STUDY OF THE CREOLIZATION OF LANGUAGE IN THE CARIBBEAN AREA IS IMPORTANT TO LINGUISTS, LANGUAGE TEACHERS, AND SOCIOLINGUISTS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. IN THIS PAPER, PRESENTED AT THE SECOND INSTITUTE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN PROGRAM IN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS (MEXICO CITY, FEBRUARY 1968), HE FIRST REPORTS ON WORK DONE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES SINCE THE CARTAGENA MEETING IN 1963. HE THEN COMMENTS ON THE NEED FOR FURTHER STUDY OF CREOLES AND OF LANGUAGES IN CONTACT AND SUGGESTS THE DIRECTION THAT SUCH WORK MIGHT TAKE. APPENDED TO THE REPORT ARE--(1) THE FINAL RESOLUTIONS OF THE 1964 CONFERENCE ON ENGLISH CREOLES IN THE CARIBBEAN, (2) TWO ARTICLES PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR ON "LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE STUDY AND LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE CARIBBEAN" AND "EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPING CARIBBEAN" FOR AN APRIL 1967 MEETING, AND (3) A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CREOLE STUDIES AND ENGLISH TEACHING IN THE CREOLE SITUATION. THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS IS--DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA, KINGSTON 7, JAMAICA, W.I. (JD)

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CREOLE STUDIES*

At Cartagena, at our first meeting, the importance of the study of the creolisation of language, and especially of this process in the Caribbean, was greatly stressed. As a matter of fact it was stated that it was difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Caribbean Area as a laboratory for language study.

Since that meeting some progress has indeed been made, but I am quite certain that not enough has been done. I pressed this point at Bloomington. And I wish to re-stress here the importance of the study of creolisation not only for the social, economic and political welfare of the Caribbean, but - perhaps more important to us here - its importance for linguistics, language study and language teaching throughout the world. We have a special interest in Latin America, and there the question of languages in contact and of the use and status of the indigenous languages, is a vital and serious one. I am certain that the study of creolisation, in its social and linguistic aspects, will throw light on the question of indigenous and special languages in Latin America.

I will divide what I have to say into three parts:

A) a report on some of the things which we have been doing at the UWI.

B) Further comments on the need for the study of creole and of languages in contact, and about special aspects of this study.

C) Suggestions for the expansion of this work and requests for help and suggestions in connection with this very necessary expansion.

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* being the substance of a paper read at the PILEI conference, Mexico City, January 1968, by John J. Figueroa, Professor of Education, U.W.I., Mona, Kingston 7, JAMAICA.

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A REPORT ON WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

This report will cover the period from the Cartagena meeting to the present. It will necessarily be selective.

I. In Easter 1964 I, as head of the Department of Education of the U.W.I., and as Dean of the Faculty of Education, convened and chaired a Conference in Jamaica on the English based creole of the Caribbean, and on the teaching of English in the special language and social circumstance of the Caribbean. But this was not by any means our sole concern. The Center for Applied Linguistics helped the Conference by sending to it William Stewart, and the University's central authorities invited Beryl Bailey, author of Jamaica Creole Syntax. Also present at the Conference, among others, were Mervyn Alleyne of Trinidad and Jamaica, Richard Allsopp of Guyana and Barbados, Joseph Kavetsky of Puerto Rico, Denis Craig of Guyana, Dorothy Figueroa, Jean Creary and John Hearne of Jamaica. The meeting accepted, on the recommendation of a special sub-committee the following as Priority needs:

Long term needs:

Much more work needs to be done to secure a description of the general language situation in the West Indies; there is a need for:

(a) Survey tests on a large scale to see the type and frequency of deviation from the standard.

(b) A survey of the speech teachers actually use in the teaching situation.

(c) A survey of attitudes of the language being used.

(d) Presentation to the public of such material as will create a better understanding of the present language situation and the aims of education. Such presentation might include TV and radio programmes, pamphlets, newspaper articles, etc.

(e) A study of the effect of existing examinations on the teaching of English. Special examinations to review are Common Entrance, GCE, University Entrance, and Training College examinations.

(f) Setting up a permanent body, such as a Language Institute, to keep the problem under constant review and to make contact with outside bodies.

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(g) In-service training for teachers at all levels; special note to be taken of the fact that only in two islands are 50% of teachers trained and that the proportion is less elsewhere. Courses are needed to improve teachers' own command of their language and their teaching methods.

Short term needs

(a) Communicating to teachers and teacher-trainers the available information with a view to improving present methods.

(b) Controlled experimentation in new methods of teaching English, such experimentation to be done at the primary school, secondary school, training college, and university level.

(c) The production of textbooks and teaching materials generally (including pamphlets for teachers) in the light of the findings of previous research in the West Indies and relevant research outside.

(d) Related to this, the production of an anthology of West Indian prose and verse, and the collection of oral material, folk tales, etc.

The full resolutions of the meeting are attached as Appendix I.

II. During the academic year 1964/65 a Joint Committee on Linguistics was set up at the U.W.I. Although it is not exclusive in any way, its membership tends to be shared mainly between the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Education. This Committee has been keeping a file of the research done on Creole in the U.W.I., and has been holding regular meetings at which papers on general linguistics theory and on the process of creolisation are regularly read.

III. In 1965 Albert Valdman of I.U., Bloomington, Indiana, came to U.W.I. for an academic year and I went to Bloomington. During that year Mervyn Alleyne also went to Bloomington because by that time we had decided to set up a Language Lab at the U.W.I. and he was specially designated to study at Bloomington their language laboratory operations, and to adapt these to our special needs in the West Indies. All three of us, are of course, PILMI members.

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My main task at Bloomington was to attempt to set up a Joint Communications Centre between U.W.I. and I.U. - the Centre to be at Mona. The Centre was to study the problems of communication which arise between different strata of society and between different territories in the Caribbean, partly because of creolisation and other language phenomena. In as much as the plans put forward at that time embody very well the work which is still necessary in this field, it will be worth our while to look at these plans which, incidentally, were the results of rather full discussions held both at I.U. and U.W.I. When I come in this paper to recommendations for future work, we will find that we will have prepared the ground in this present section.

Our plans then, in connection with a Communication Centre called for:

a) archives of creole studies, including archives of oral examples of speech and of what one might call oral literature in the vernacular. Associated with the archives should be a plan of disseminating information about work already done, and about further work as it proceeds.

b) Further descriptive work on the creoles to include the study of both the popular language and the oral and written imaginative literature in the creoles.

c) The encouragement of further analytical work to include:

i) Theory of Origin of Creoles
ii) Socio - and Psycho-linguistic aspects of Creole.
iii) The political aspects in the broadest sense of "Political". How, for instance to get into our model of democracy the necessary inter-communication between all citizens, between the grass-roots and those developing the country economically and industrially. The communication referred to has to be a two-way communication and there is some evidence to suggest that the language continuum as it exists inhibits this communication. As does the inadequate and unimaginative use being made of TV and Radio.

/d)

d) (i) a study of how the learning and teaching of English (or the official language) and also of European foreign languages, are affected by the presence of creole speakers in the schools.

(ii) The effect on the whole education system, from the primary to the university, of the existence of creole, and of the socio - and psycho - linguistic implications of this situation.

It is well worth pointing out that creole situations differ within themselves. For instance, in Jamaica what we really have is a continuous unbroken continuum between something that is very nearly standard received Southern British speech, to the most creolised of Jamaican speech. This situation contrasts with that of Surinam where the English based creole does not have side by side with it a language in any way resembling standard Southern British English. It is most important to keep in mind this difference. The problem of teaching English in Surinam is not quite like the problem of teaching English in Jamaica. Moreover, the psycho - and socio - linguistic implications are quite different. One gathers that in Paramaribo, for instance, the Creole based on English is entirely accepted as a language, just as Papiamento is accepted in Curacao. One of the complications of the Jamaican situation is that, because of the unbroken continuum, what might be called the lower ends of the language spectrum - i.e. the more creolised sections - are not accepted in many circles as constituting a language. Many people do not realise that what they call 'broken' English has a system all its own. Furthermore in the continuum situation the likeness between almost any part of the continuum and standard British, or standard Jamaican, speech makes the teaching of a standard form of English more not less difficult. In much the same way, (I understand from a prominent Brazilian linguist) a person who has grown up speaking Portuguese often finds that he makes less mistakes in speaking English, (once he has learned it) than he does in speaking Spanish, because Portuguese is so much closer to Spanish than it is to English.

e) The whole socio-economic and pedagogic aspects of communication were also to be studied.

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The scheme outlined above for careful study of the problems of communication, and of the role of language in communication, is still under discussion. Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to set up a Centre to study the problems. There are various reasons for this, not least of all financial ones. But the question of a Centre is not important to us here. The main point is that the areas of work fully discussed when we were considering the Centre in many ways coincide exactly with the sort of work which we in this Committee on Creole Studies should be recommending.

IV. Meanwhile throughout 1965/66, Mr. Denis Craig, a native of Guyana who has worked throughout the Caribbean Area, and who received his postgraduate training both in the Department of Education, U.W.I. and at London University, started specific work on taking into account the creole background of Jamaican children when setting out to teach them English. He had in mind mostly primary school children. He and the students in the Department started descriptively by taking down their speech on the playing fields and elsewhere. He then considered to what extent insights gained from second language teaching could be used in teaching Jamaican children to move from one end of the language continuum to the other. The schools, of course, have to help our children to attain code switching, and to avoid code mixing. Mr. Craig has now produced teaching materials for use in the primary schools, and these teaching materials appear to me to be far better than anything we have had before, although they need much expansion. They also need to take further into consideration the wealth of, and need for, the imaginative experience of the children concerned. One has to admit that the adoption of Craig's material (or anything like it) might well be a slow matter, partly because of the politics of publication, and partly because of certain confusions in the body politic about the real nature of creole. Many people quite high up in government and education circles are still at the stage of considering Jamaican creole as "broken language" or preferably "broken English". People of importance have said that that kind of language is only used by clowns or rascals. Of course very often this kind of statement is made in language which has many of the marks of Jamaican Creole, whether in intonation pattern or in the use of slightly non-standard structures.

V. Further work which had been done in Creole Studies at U.W.I. must be mentioned. Mervyn Alleyne had written an interesting article on Creole and Politics in Jamaica. This article arose out of studies of the 1962 general election in Jamaica. It shows clearly, and discusses, the kinds of communication problems which

/arise

arise between the politician and his clientele, between the governed and the policymakers. It deals with an aspect of the language continuum, and its close connection with social and political welfare and stability, which we ignore only at our peril.

VI. Keith Whinnom, then Professor of Spanish at the U.W.I. had discussed with the linguistics committee, U.W.I., and then published, in Word his interesting ideas on the origins of creole. Whinnom had previously written on language in contact in the Phillipines. He leans to the theory that the creole languages have their origin in the lingua franca which had been used in the Mediterranean for trading purposes with North Africa and elsewhere for some time. Some of this lingua franca had been satirised in Racine but Whinnom and Roy Jones, then of the London University, turned up a text in Madrid of further examples of the lingua franca and Whinnom seems to make at least a prima facie case for this as a base for creole languages.

VII. I myself had published in New World in 1965 an article on the teaching of English in the multi-lingual situation of the anglophone West Indies. This article contains a bibliography on creole studies and on the teaching of English in the creole situation which was at that time quite full and quite up-to-date and which contained much more material than the bibliography originally published in the Report already referred to (Language Teaching, Linguistics and the Teaching of English in a Multilingual Society). The bibliography is attached as Appendix IV.

VIII. At this point, especially having mentioned Whinnom's work on the origins of creole languages I wish to digress in order to urge that in our work in this field we must take into account the written language as well as the oral. We must start searching most carefully the literary and dramatic productions of long ago in order to see to what extent they can throw light on the existence, nature, and consistency of the creole through the years. I have been myself impressed with how soon English based creole seems to have settled some of its characteristics, and I would like to mention three examples of literature here which will illustrate my point.

First of all there is the following passage from Tom Cringle's Log. This book was written by someone who lived in Jamaica very early in the nineteenth century. It records many songs which must have existed well before that time, and also purports to put down speech as used in the island of Jamaica early in the nineteenth century.

"Some time after this, we once more returned to Cartagena, to be at hand should any opportunity occur

/for

for Jamaica, and were lounging about one forenoon on the fortifications, looking with sickening hearts out to seaward, when a voice struck up the following negro ditty close to us:

'Fader was a Corromantee,
Moder was a Mingo,
Black picaniny buccra wantee,
So dem sell a me Peter, by jingo,
Jiggery, jiggery, jiggery.'

'Well sung, Messa Bungo,' exclaimed Mr. Splinter; 'where do you hail from, my hearty?'

'Hillo! Bungo, indeed! free and easy dat, anyhow. Who you yousef, eh?

'Why, Peter,' continued the lieutenant, 'don't you know me?'

'Cannot say dat I do,' rejoined the negro, very gravely, without lifting his head, as he sat mending his jacket in one of the embrasures near the water-gate of the arsenal - 'Have not de honour of your acquaintance, sir.'

He then resumed his scream, for song it could not be called:-

'Mammy Sally's daughter
Lose him shoe in an old canoe
Dat lay half full of water,
And den she knew not what to do.
Jiggery, jig ---'

'Confound your jiggery, jiggery, sir! But I know you well enough, my man; and you can scarcely have forgotten Lieutenant Splinter of the Torch, one would think?'

However, it was clear that the poor fellow really had not known us; for the name so startled him, that, in his hurry to unlace his legs from under him, as he sat tailor-fashion, he fairly capsized out of his perch, and toppled down on his nose - a feature fortunately so flattened by the hand of nature, that I question if it could have been rendered more obtuse had he fallen out of the maintop on a timberhead, or a marine officer's.

'Eh! - no - yes, him sure enough; and who is de picaniny hofficer - Oh! I see, Massa Tom Cringle? Garamighty, gentlemen, where have you drop from? - Where is de old Torch?
Many a time hab I, Peter Mangrove, pilot to Him Britanic

/Majesty

Magesty squadron, taken de old brig in and through amongst de keys at Port Royal!'

'Ay, and how often did you scour her copper against the coral reefs, Peter?'

His Majesty's pilot gave a knowing look and laid his hand on his breast - 'no more of dat if you love me, massa.'

'Well, well, it don't signify, now, my boy, she will never give that trouble again - foundered - all hands lost, Peter, but the two you see before you.'

'Werry sorry, Massa Plinter, werry sorry - What! de black cook's-mate and all? But misfortune can't be help. Stop till I put up my needle, and I will take a turn wid you.' Here he drew himself up with a great deal of absurd gravity. 'Proper dat British hofficer in distress should assist one anoder - We shall consult togeder - How can I serve you?'

'Why, Peter, if you could help us to a passage to Port Royal, it would be serving us most essentially. When we used to be lying there, a week seldom passed without one of the squadron arriving from this; but here we been for more than a month, without a single pennant belonging to the station having looked in: our money is running short, and if we are to hold on in Carthagena for another six weeks, we shall not have a shot left in the locker - not a copper to tinkle on a tombstone.'

The negro looked steadfastly at us, then carefully around. There was no one near.

'You see, Massa Plinter, I am desirable to serve you, for one little reason of my own; but, beside dat, it is good for me at present to make some friend wid de hofficer of de squadron, being as how dat I am absent widout leave.'

Space does not allow of detailed comment but some remarks are necessary.

First of all we see certain well known features as "fadder" and "moder" for 'father' and 'mother'. We have "dat" and "yousef" (for of course 'that' and 'yourself'.

Further we have "him" used for 'her' in the first two lines of the second stanza quoted:

"Mammy Sally's daughter
Lose him shoe in an old canoe"

/We

We also have "werry" for 'very' and "hofficer" for 'officer'.

Further we have the fairly complicated, but quite regular kind of structure:

"Eh! - no - yes, him sure enough"*

in which no form of copulative is used. What is really meant is 'sure enough it is he' which is close enough to 'it is him'. Those familiar with any form of creolisation will recognise this form of sentence with clauses placed against each other but without any form of the verb "to be" used as a connective. In modern Jamaica talk "him good" means "he" or "she" is good.

I have pointed to some things from the "Tom Cringle's passage which are of phonological and structural interest. I should like now to point to something of a more socio-linguistic kind. Compare for instance the song "Fader was a Corromantee" with the reply of Peter to the lieutenant: "Cannot say dat I do," rejoined the negro, very gravely, without lifting his head, as he sat mending his jacket in one of the embrasures near the water gate of the arsenal-- "Have not de honour of your acquaintance sir" with "Garamighty, gentlemen, where have you drop from?"

The reader will no doubt find for himself many other interesting linguistic factors about the passages in question that have struck him most remarkably in this passage and in two other passages now to be quoted:

> ".....Some idea of what New World Negro English may have been like in its early stages can be obtained from a well-known example of the speech of a fourteen-year-old Negro lad given by Daniel DeFoe in The Family Instructor (London, 1715). It is significant that the Negro, Toby, speaks a pidginized kind of English to his boy master, even though he states that he was born in the New World.

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* Compare "it is him" for "it is he" with the kind of mistake children have been making in learning Latin when they write 'Est illum' for 'est ille' -- no doubt on the annology of 'armat illum'.

** Stewart, William A. in the Florida FL Reporter Vol. 5. No. 2 Spring 1967

A sample of his speech is: (6)

Toby: Me be born at Barbadoes.
Boy: Who lives there, Toby?
Toby: There lives white mans, white womans, negree mans, negree womans, just so as live here.
Boy: What and not know God?
Toby: Yes, the white mans say God prayers, - no much know God.
Boy: And what do the black mans do?
Toby: They much work, much work, - no say God prayers, not at all.
Boy: What work do they do, Toby?
Makee the sugar, makee the ginger, - much great work, weary work, all day, all night.

Even though the boy master's English is slightly non-standard (e.g. black mans), it is still quite different from the speech of the Negro."

" Early examples of Negro dialect as spoken in the North American colonies show it to be strikingly similar to that given by DeFoe for the West Indies and by Herlein for Surinam. In John Leacock's play, The Fall of British Tyranny (Philadelphia, 1776), part of the conversation between a certain "Kidnapper" and Cudjo, one of a group of Virginia Negroes, goes as follows: (8)

Kidnapper .....what part did you come from?
Cudjo: Disse brack man, disse one, disse one, come from Nawfok, me come from Nawfok too.
Kidnapper: Very well, what was your master's name?
Cudjo: Me massa name Cunney Tomsee.
Kidnapper: Colonial Thompson - eigh?
Cudjo: Eas, massa, Cunney Tomsee.
Kidnapper: Well, then I'll make you a major - and what's your name?
Cutjo: Me massa cawra me Cudjo.

6. The same citation is given in a fuller form, along with a number of other attestations of early New World Negro speech, in George Philip Krapp, The English Language in America (New York, The Century Co. 1925), Vol. 1, pp. 255 - 265. Other attestations are cited in Tremaine McDowell, "Notes on Negro Dialect in the American Novel to 1821" American Speech V (1930), pp. 291 - 296.

8. This citation also occurs in Krapp, and with others in Richard Walser, "Negro Dialect in Eighteenth-Century American Drama" American Speech XXX (1955), pp. 269 - 276.

> Again, the enclitic vowels (e.g. disse) and the subject pronoun me are prominent features of the Negro dialect. In the sentence Me Massa name Cunney Tomsee "My master's name is Colonel Thompson", both the verb "to be" and the standard English possessive suffix -s are absent. Incidentally, Cudjo's construction is strikingly similar to sentences like My sister name Mary which are used by many American Negroes today. "

These Passages, I am sure you will agree, are of intrinsic interest; they also bring to mind a large field of research which is to be done in connection with literary texts which use, or purport to use, the creole of the time. Two matters have to be kept in mind in using such texts. One, that they are bound to report language which has been in existence for some time; two, we must treat with caution the graphic convention which any author uses to put down what he hears as the language of the times. We are in the hands of the writer in respect of how well he could hear, and report upon the language which was current. But we can make a shrewd assessment by noting how well, and in what manner, he records the 'standard' speech of his day, or any foreign languages which he might use.

The reader will have noted, I am sure, that the passages from Stewart and Scott bear a resemblance to another form of language which have been very much under scrutiny recently - the so-called Negro English of some of the bigger cities of U.S.A. There can be little doubt that the process of creolisation of the English language which took place as a necessary concommitant of bringing hundreds of thousands of Negro slaves to the New World - that this process has left its mark on North American English. But the place in which this process can best be studied is the Caribbean, and any real contributions worked out in the Caribbean - whether in linguistics or pedagogy or in communication theory -- will be invaluable to those working with underprivileged groups in the urban American.

Further the use in literature of any form of creole should not be studied only in respect of origins and stability, but in respect of the meaningful,flexibility and acceptability of creole forms now and recently current in the Caribbean. Certainly no student of Jamaican English can omit to make a careful study, for instance of Vic Reid's novel New Day. As much of this novel is narrated by someone who would 'in real life' speak some form of creole, this kind of language had to be used at least to lend verisimultude. It is an open question whether Reid's stylisation of the creole is successful and genuine. But it can still tell us something about the characteristics, social and linguistic, of the creole. But there

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cf. Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects. Wm. A. Stewart in the Florida FL Reporter, Spring 1967, Vol. 5, No. 2

is the further question, not merely of reporting by use of the creole (and reproducing it to lend verisimilitude) but rather of using it to communicate feelings and meanings otherwise incommunicable. In connection with this use of the creole I would like to draw your attention to Derek Walcott's sonnet:

Chapter VI

"Poopa, da' was a fete! I mean it had
Free rum free whisky and some fellars beating
Pan from one of them band in Trinidad
And everywhere you turn was people eating
And drinking and don't name me but I think
They catch his wife with two tests up the beach
While he drunk quoting Shelley with 'Each
Generation has its angst, but we has none'
And wouldn't let a comma in edgewise.
(Black writer chap, one of them Oxbridge guys.)
And it was round this part once that the heart
Of a young child was torn from it alive
By two practitioners of native art,
But that was long before this jump and jive."

Note the variety of tone and the ironic interplay which is only possible because Walcott has used the full range of the language at his command. Note also that it is at the traditional 'volta' point in the sonnet that he allows the speaker to betray his true origins even as he quotes Shelley and refers to Kierkergaad - 'each generation has its angst but we has none'.

VII. We return now to work in hand and must mention the following:

a) A Ph. D. thesis has been done in the Department of French, U.W.I., on the Creole language of St. Lucia. The Creole there is of course a French based creole, and it is good to have this further contribution to the descriptive work on the language in St. Lucia. There is in fact a great deal more work to be done both on the teaching of languages, and on the socio - and psycho - linguistic implications of the language situation in St. Lucia. The official language of the island is English and in this language its schools and law-courts are conducted, but by far the most common language, and certainly the language of the people, is a highly developed creole of French. In fact most of the Roman Catholic priests in St. Lucia - and it is a heavily

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Catholic island - are French speakers. It is interesting to note that Derek Walcott, whose poem was quoted and commented upon above, is a native of St. Lucia and lived and worked there well beyond his adolescence.

b) Two students in the Department of Education are this year carrying out a contrastive analysis in order to help them prepare material for the teaching of Spanish. The delicate problem that they have to face is that a contrastive analysis between, let us say, Spanish phonology and standard English phonology will not do. In fact the contrastive study has to be done from three points of view, that of Spanish, that of one end of the Creole continuum, and that of the other end of the continuum - whether we designate it, standard Jamaican, or "standard English". The need for complicated contrastive analysis is also to be found in Paramaribo where speakers of the Creole and of Dutch might attempt to teach Dutch to Hindi children, or Dutch and English to Spanish speaking children. As a matter of fact the recent meeting in Paramaribo of the Creole Commission of PILEI has recommended that contrastive work of this nature be done in Surinam.

VIII. In April 1967 there was held in Tobago, at the invitation of U.W.I. an informal meeting of the Heads of Caribbean Universities. At this meeting it was resolved that a study of language and language teaching was one important field of work, together with that of science, medicine and agriculture, which must be done in the Caribbean if there is to be true development in the area. I presented two papers on this subject at the meeting, which are attached as appendices II and III. The meeting gave me the job of discovering throughout the Caribbean Area what work had been done, and was in progress, on the question of the creolisation of language. (Appendix II was taken to the Surinam PILEI meeting by the late Mauricio Swadesh, and became the basis for parts of its recommendations.)

I should like to stress certain aspects of the papers that I presented on that occasion. They may be summarized as follows:

a) The continuing need for full and careful descriptive work;

/b)

b) The continuing and imaginative investigation of the relation of the creole language situation to the teaching of all languages in the area - whether these languages be the official language or not, whether they be the language on which the creole is based, or whether they be a completely foreign language European or Eastern.

c) The paramount importance of the socio - and psycho - linguistic aspects of the situation. To what extent is the existence of certain language differences maintaining a certain social order of stratification; to what extent is language determining the very modes of perception of our population?

d) We must realise the political, social and economic implications of the presence either of a creole, or of the creole continuum. I would like to draw especial attention to pages 6 and 7 of Appendix III:

" Man's intellectual superiority is almost entirely due to the use of language." (M. Polanyi)

The quality of and the nature of man's learning is vastly 'different' because of his ability to use language. But this ability, like all of man's other abilities, has to be **learnt.** The potential has to be realised; and it must be one of education's main tasks to help children acquire, explore, sharpen, the gift of speech. But education has a greater responsibility in this matter in areas where the language situation is confused, where there has been creolisation, where there is a wide spectrum into which various languages have been broken by the facts of culture and language contact. Not only has education a responsibility to be much better informed about the whole of the language situation in the Caribbean and about its sociolinguistic and psycho-linguistic implications, it must face the fact also that until it is better informed in these matters its efficiency in every field is bound to be seriously impaired. For while human learning, especially in schools, should never be verbal and only verbal, most of it cannot take place without an element of

/language

language. The truism has to be stressed that a child who has not learned to use, in its multitudinous variety, some fairly standard language simply will not have the opportunity to learn as efficiently and humanely as he could, a variety of 'subjects' stretching from history to physics and beyond.

The socio-political implications of language learning for our societies must also be faced. Democracy cannot work without communication. Yet in what language is the Jamaican worker to communicate whether in the court-room, or with the civil servants, or with the "boss"? Admittedly more than language is needed for this kind of communication - but never <u>less</u> than.

How can our imprecise speech carry on modern technology and business? One so often hears completely wrong information being given not because of a desire to deceive but because of an inability to use any language, whether 'creole' or 'standard', with any accuracy or point. I recently heard a conversation between a North American visitor and a middle class Trinidadian clerk which was, in one sense, enlightening. They seemed unable to convey to each other the time at which the Travellers Cheques had been lost - and this was mainly because the Trinidadian did not seem to have at his command indicators (certainly not <u>easily recognisable</u> indicators) of past and present. As so often happens in my Spanish, and always in my French, so in the Trinidadian clerk's English, everything 'happens'* in the present! "

It is hardly possible to exaggerate, I think, the importance of the language and communication aspects of society in the Caribbean. This is so whether we think of the social or the economic or the political developments of any of the territories, or of all of them together.

IX Partly as a follow up to the Creole Conference of 1964, **

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* more accurately "everything 'happen' in the present!"

**<u>Linguistics, Language and Language Teaching in a Multilingual Society</u>, being a report of the 1964 meeting. Allen Jones, who was secretary of the meeting, wrote the report. John J. Figueroa was chairman and convener of the meeting.

and partly as an independent effort of American scholars, a meeting will be held at U.W.I. during April 1968 on the question of creolisation and languages, in contact. This joint effort is being looked after on the American side by Dell Hymes. There will be present members of PILEI including Mervyn Alleyne, William Stewart and myself.

So much then for a report on some of the things which we have been doing at U.W.I. and for some of the things which we hope to do in the future.

B. NEED FOR CONTINUED STUDY

I would not like to give the impression that I think that the question of Creole languages should be studied merely because it would be beneficial to the Caribbean. I have gone into great detail above because by so doing I feel that the reader will agree that the kind of creole studies which we have in mind is bound to make marked contributions to pure linguistics.

Creole studies will throw light on, and very often ask awkward questions about, our theories of the origin of languages, and of their relationship in families; and on the whole question of language universals. It should also throw light on the question of whether the formation of a new language moves by a slow uniform evolution, or whether in fact there are not sudden appearances of high plateaux, in fact sudden leMarqueian "jumps". The whole question of socio - and psycho - linguistics has very much to learn from the creole field. Moreover much that can be learned here will, undoubtedly, have direct relevance to the situation which arises in many parts of Latin America where indigenous Indian languages exist alongside the 'official' language of the area.

It is of course, true, and has to be stressed, that - from the point of view of Caribbean territories a real study of the creole situation will help us to correct our ever outward looking tendencies. So far in the Caribbean we have found it difficult to believe in any of our own achievements, or even to study carefully our own development, including the very kind of language (or languages) which we use. To quote again from Appendix III -

"So far our education has tended to be complete outward looking, so in the end, to quote Roach again,

> We take banana boats
> Tourist, stowaway,
> Our luck in hand calypsoes in the heart:
> We turn Columbus' blunder back
> From sun to snow, to bitter cities;
> We explore the hostile and exploding zone.

/But

> But in the Caribbean our education system, and the practices of the classroom, must teach us that "the hostile and exploding zone" which most needs our exploration is that zone not only of our inner selves but also, and most emphatically, of the societies from which we look to the archipelago and to the wider world.
>
> From this inward examination and outward look we must come to decide whether the present values of the developed countries are necessarily those which we wish to adopt. Or are we to assume that Mafia type organizations, to mention but one North American blight, are the necessary price which we will have to pay for development? "

I am maintaining, then, that the study of the creolisation of language in the Caribbean area is not only to be considered as an adjunct to the study of the teaching of language, but in fact has a real contribution to make to the study of pure linguistics. It will contribute also the study of socio - and psycho - linguistics and to the whole communications complex, of the Caribbean Area, and of other areas, of which there are many in Latin America, which have similar social structures, similar economic and political problems, similar emotional problems, all arising in part, out of the total situation of languages and cultures in contact. I would further like to suggest that a study of our recent fiction will show that it is a mistake to emphasise only the problems that arise - although they must be studied - it is as important to realise that we in fact have a rich language heritage which can be exploited by authors like Derek Walcott, Vidia Naipaul and George Lamming.

C. <u>FURTHER WORK</u>

What work then do I suggest that we in PILEI undertake or at least strongly encourage? First of all, I should like to say that I would be very happy to have the Department of Education at the U.W.I. act as a clearing house for information about creole studies and their relation to teaching problems and social problems in the area. Next I would like to refer you to the outline which I have given on pages 3 - 7 of this paper where the need for the following matters has been pressed:

a) archives of creole studies
b) further descriptive work
c) further analytical work

/d)

d) a study of the problems of learning and teaching which arise in the creole situation, and of the effect on the whole educational and political system of the presence of a language continuum, and finally
e) the whole socio-economic and pedagogic aspects of communication.

I should also like to recommend very strongly that in all these areas work be done to determine what might be considered a linguistically and socially acceptable standard. Many teachers, for instance, as well as businessmen and professional men are confused about what should be the target language of the schools and the community. I think that this matter is neither completely linguistic nor, as some linguists have tried to maintain, purely social. The matter needs study both from the point of view of the tendencies which are clear in the language situation, and from the empirical facts about what is likely to be accepted by employers and leaders in the community.

A good comparative study, yielding much interesting information, might well be done between the situation in a place like Jamaica and that of a place like Surinam. This is with reference to the existence on the one hand of a far stretching continuum and on the other to a creole which exists in a situation where one of its original parents, at least, does not appear on the scene at all.

As I have already hinted the creolisation of language did not take place only in the Caribbean but wherever African slaves were brought to the New World.* In the United States of America at present one of the social consequences of slave history is being felt through problems that arise in the so-called Inner Cities. One knows that these problems are not solely problems of Negro Americans; they are indeed problems of minority groups. However, in the case of descendants of African slaves one of the clear symptoms, and at the same time cause of the problems is the kind of English now being called in certain circles "negro English". In fact William Stewart, whose work has already been referred to in this paper and who is a member of PILEI, is at present focussing on the problem of "Negro English" in the States knowledge which he has gained from his work on Creole in the Caribbean. A fruitful field for collaboration is to be found in this question of the study of the linguistic, socio-linguistic and pedagogical aspect of Negro English. Without a doubt work in the Caribbean would throw light on the problems that are arising in Inner America. PILEI are encouraging collaboration between those working on creole in the Caribbean and those studying

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* And wherever 'trade' took the European adventures, particularly the Portuguese. cf Whinnom on Languages in contact in the Phillipines.

the linguistic problems of the so-called "disadvantaged" in the United States of America.

Finally, I would press strongly for the use of imaginative literature in the study of the creole situation and in the teaching of languages. The latter point I have made at length in a paper published in the proceedings of the Bloomington Symposium. About the former I wish to say this. By careful study of old literary texts we can learn more about the origin and consistencies of various creoles; by study of modern literary texts, such as the poems of Walcott, or the novels of Lamming, we can come to a fuller realisation of the resources, flexibility and limits of the creole languages. We can also help to work towards some acceptable standard; because the creative artist might help us to see not the problems, linguistic and pedagogic, of the creole situation, but the richness of the language resources which exist all around us -- resources which are likely to be left by us in the state of unappreciated raw material. Our creative artists will show us how to turn this raw material into real resources for our spiritual, emotional and political development.

John J. Figueroa,
Professor of Education,
University of the West Indies,
Mona, Kingston 7,
16th February 1968.

APPENDIX I

* The following were the final resolutions of the meeting.*

It was fully realized by the Meeting that although the complexities of the language situation in the Caribbean made teaching and communication difficult at various levels, it offered a unique opportunity for increasing our pedagogical and linguistic knowledge. The language situation is one in which acceptable English cannot easily be described either as a mother tongue or a foreign language. The methods devised abroad both in teaching and in language study have therefore to be applied with care in the English-speaking Caribbean, and their application and re-thinking might well lead to further theoretical and pedagogical discoveries. The realization of this situation, which is at the same time one of difficulty and of opportunity, shoulld encourage those working in the English-speaking Caribbean.

The Conference strongly recommends that the following Resolutions be carefully considered by the Faculty of Education and presented to the rest of the University, to the teaching profession, to Ministries of Education, and to others concerned throughout the English-speaking Caribbean:

1. The Meeting recommends that a permanent Standing Committee on the teaching of English in the Caribbean and on related language and language teaching problems be set up.

2. The Meeting recommends that a very careful study of the language situation be carried out. In some places a good start, particularly on the linguistic side, has been made. But in other territories very little work has been done. Such work is essential not only to add to our knowledge of Creole languages, but also to enable us, because of the language phenomena of interference and switching, to prepare teaching material and texts, and to make more efficient our methods when teaching English in the Caribbean.

3. The Meeting recommends that the information already available should be communicated to teachers, to teacher trainers, to Ministries of Education and other government agencies, to the teaching profession and to leaders in society. It further recommends that constant contact should be kept with teachers, and that constant communication between practising teachers, research

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cf Linguistics, Language and Language Teaching in a Multi-Lingual Society published by U.W.I., Mona, Jamaica, being a report of a conference held in 1964 at Mona.

workers, and the Faculty of Education be encouraged. The Meeting underlines the need for improved teacher training, especially in respect of the teaching of English. It realizes that the situation is very difficult and that certain short-term emergency measures have had to be taken, but it wishes to stress particularly in the language learning situation as it exists in the Caribbean, a concentration has to be placed on the training of a large number of efficient, sympathetic, flexible English teachers especially for our primary schools.

4. To help with this work of the training of teachers the Meeting recommends that experimental teaching should be carried on widely, and that there should be attached to the Faculty of Education, U.W.I., a laboratory and demonstration school in which the ideas and results which come out of linguistic and pedagogical research should be constantly tried, tested, and demonstrated.

5. The Meeting recommends that the U.W.I. should, because of the language situation in which it finds itself, make compulsory for all students doing a degree in language, at least a course in general linguistics. The Meeting recommends that the U.W.I. also offers special courses in linguistics and socio-linguistics.

6. The Meeting recommends that in the training of teachers and the preparation of textbooks, great attention be paid to the need for the full involvement of the imagination and feelings in the whole process of language learning. It further recommends a closer consideration of the use of literature and the works of the imagination in the teaching of language.

7. The Meeting recommends that such media as television and radio be used to disseminate to the public such knowledge as we have, or such knowledge as we may discover, of the whole language situation, with special reference to the systematic nature of both Creole and Standard Languages.

8. The Meeting recommends that the study of prejudices and attitudes which exist, both in respect of status preferences and general cultural factors be made.

Appendix II

LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE STUDY AND LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE CARIBBEAN

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the great causes of separatism in the Caribbean has been the existence of different European languages. This has not been the only cause since associated with the differences in language have been differences in culture, and differences in socio-economic policies. All these have tended to split the Caribbean up into quite different entities, despite the common geographic and historical characteristics which the area shares. Clearly, further coming together in the area can only be based on a great understanding of each other's languages and cultures. It would be unwise to expect, as is sometimes stated, that <u>all</u> people going to secondary schools should learn one or two of the languages spoken in other parts of the Caribbean. But if we are to get together for the betterment of our cultural and economic situation then it will be necessary for at least top businessmen and civil servants and other leaders in the society, to speak, besides their own language, either English or Spanish or French. Any study of language in the area which contributes to further understanding, and facilitates the teaching of languages within the area is very much to be supported.

II. LANGUAGE STUDY

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Caribbean area as a laboratory for language study.* Some of the most interesting examples of creolisation, particularly in respect of English and French, have taken place in the Caribbean. Development and variations in the 'standards' have also been remarkable: one need only mention Heredia, Walcott, Carpentier.

Creolisation/

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*This was recognised by the Interamerican meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, in August 1960.

Creolisation, and the particular brand of "standard" European languages which have flourished in the West Indies, all have their socio-linguistic implications which will repay study. Such study will be of use not only in the Caribbean area but to the general understanding of language wherever the sociological implications are particularly important, and wherever communication is hampered between the so-called 'elite' and the rest of the society; between the leaders, from whatever strata they come, and the rank and file.

Much interesting work is to be done in the description of standard varieties of French, Spanish and English. Questions of phonological changes, and of differing intonation patterns, as well as developments of various kinds of vocabularies, are all rich sources of study. But perhaps an even richer source of really sound and helpful academic work is to be found in the contact situation between the European languages among themselves and with various other languages which they met in the Caribbean. It would also be interesting to discover whether the changes came to the languages not only because of contact with other languages but also because of the contact with a quite different kind of culture, with a different way of life based on a different physical environment, and different tradition.

It perhaps needs no stressing that we could learn a great deal about language itself from a careful study of what has happened to languages in contact in the Caribbean. To mention but one example of a general idea which could stand scrutiny in the light of the Caribbean situation, let me mention the idea of genetic relationship in language.

III. LANGUAGE TEACHING

There are two kinds of problems in connection with language teaching which arise in the Caribbean. Both of them are of great interest to the whole world including places like Africa and China. First is that of teaching the mother tongue effectively in a situation where it is not quite clear exactly what language is the mother tongue. Secondly, there is the great need to teach effectively and quickly one, at least, of the standard foreign languages.

In the Jamaican situation, for instance, there is a large language continuum spreading from outright Jamaican creole to standard Jamaican speech which is in many ways quite close

to/

to Southern British speech. At any given position on the continuum the language speaker is often using a language which from the point of view of vocabulary is closer to the English model than it is from the point of view of structure. This presents serious problems to the English teacher. Similarly, when a person sets out to teach Spanish in Jamaica he is both helped and deterred by the fact that the child whom he is teaching might very well not be completely a speaker of standard English. There is much descriptive work to be done; there is also much to be learned about the pedagogy of teaching structure rather than vocabulary. In most language teaching situations both the vocabulary and structure are strange, or structure is strange only in part, and vocabulary the main thing to be learned. English, Spanish and French structures are very much alike, differing only in clearly defined ways whereas vocabularies are clearly different, despite borrowings and genetic relationships.

For many reasons, then, language teaching within the romance language groups has centred on, and stressed, the acquisition of new vocabulary. In the creolised situation this can no longer be the practice. In many ways vocabulary is held in common whereas structure is not. Therefore, in the Caribbean, mother tongue pedagogy will have to work out ways of teaching structure efficiently and humanely. If these ways can be discovered, a great contribution will be made to the teaching of languages throughout the world, because although so far it has been easier in all language teaching situations to teach vocabulary than to teach structure, it is palpably clear that in learning a new language, new structures have also to be acquired.

Whether or not my description of the Caribbean situation be correct, or the conclusions which I draw from this description be just, it must be clear that there is a rich field for research into questions of language teaching, just as there is a rich field for research into the kinds of language that exist in the area, into how languages grow, into their socio-linguistic implications, and in fact even into the very nature of language itself.

IV. LANGUAGE LEARNING

In view of what has been said in Sections I, II and III it will be seen that we cannot necessarily accept from other cultures, and other situations, the research which has been done in language learning. It might well be that much is to be learnt from the Caribbean situation about language learning - much which has not been evident in more homogeneous populations, where the motivations and the conditions of learning a new language have been quite different. As has already been said, in the Caribbean there are two sets of

problems/

problems - those which cluster around learning an entirely new language, and those which cluster around learning a new language which differs from one's mother tongue mainly in structural matters.

There is the whole field of helping learning by developing those learning aids and materials which fit the cultural and geographical situation of the Caribbean, as well as take into account the special language learning problems stressed in this paper.

V. POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES, IN ORDER OF PRIORITY.

Introduction:

Certain activities will be here set out. Clearly the question of priorities has to be related not only to the nature of the work to be done, but also to the opportunities for funding, and to work already done. The priorities below are, then, tentative. One of the things which should be planned after full discussion is at what localities particular aspects of the work could go forward.

Order of Priority:

1. Centres for the Study of Language and Oral Literature in the West Indies.

These ideally should be four and should be based on Dutch, English, French and Spanish. They would perform a combination of functions which are set out also in an order of priority.

(a) They should provide archives on Creole language.

(b) They should act as Clearing Houses for information and research proposals in respect of creole and the creolisation of language.

(c) They could study the various levels of "educated" speech, and the various "standards" in the Caribbean area.

(d) They should set up suitable folk lore archives and so continue the careful and systematic collection of the oral material of the area. Concentration should be on what is sometimes called oral literature. This work would not be unconnected with the more specifically linguistic work, but it would be concerned/

cerned with, in the best sense, the literary and human values of the folk tales collected.

2. Expansion of Research and Teaching within the Universities

(a) Linguistic studies should find a particular home in the Caribbean. Yet it is to be doubted that Universities are doing as much work in this field as they should be - whether we think of the regular teaching of modern linguistics (as against philology) as parts of Arts degrees, or in connection with the preparation of teachers, or as more specialised preparation for a profession in linguistics. This kind of work does not conflict with that set out under Priority 1. Here we stress the university contribution and university teaching.

(b) Research in connection with paragraph (a) above, and for its own sake, also needs considerably to be expanded. The research envisioned here is not merely the collection of tapes and other materials, as might be carried on under section 1 above, but is much more concerned with linguistic analysis, with the development of general language theories, and of theories about languages in contact. Part of the research done here should be in connection with the role of language and social stratification in the Caribbean. This, of course, would be an interdisciplinary study calling upon scholars in the fields of linguistics, literature, sociology, and history.

(c) There is also need for research into psycho-linguistics. What part does the language of any child in the Caribbean precisely play in his intellectual development, particularly in his development of concepts? Is there a relationship between different language backgrounds and different patterns of cognition and conceptualisation?

3, The strengthening and expansion of present work in the Teaching of the "Official Language".

The rather awkward expression "official language" is used rather than standard language so as not to beg too many questions. What is meant is, for instance, the teaching of English in Jamaica and Trinidad, and St. Lucia; the teaching of French in Haiti; the teaching of Spanish in Cuba, Puerto Rico and, let us say, Cartagena. In this section English will be taken as

an/

an example. But I am certain that mutatis mutandis what is here said would apply to French and Spanish where they are the traditional European languages in the Caribbean areas.

(a) We need surveys and controlled experiments in new approaches to the teaching of the official language (e.g. English) as a quasi-foreign language.

(b) We need studies of whether a "non-downgrading" attitude to the child's mother tongue, especially when it is a Creole, will result in

(i) a more positive attitude to language
(ii) more efficient learning of the standard official language, and of foreign languages
(iii) better psychological adjustment among school children.

4. Language and mass communication

(a) There is need for widespread and deep study of the use of mass communication in the Caribbean, of ways of making it more imaginative, more relevant and more meaningful. It would be interesting to test the suitability of the language now being used by the mass media of communication: suitability not only with respect to linguistic levels, but also to those qualities of imagination and feeling, and indeed of myth making, which Caribbean novelists and poets have evinced.

(b) There is much work to be done in the testing of the use of the mass media (especially the radio) in education, and of the development of prototype material in this connection.

(c) There is need also for the study of, and the development of, ways of interaction between mass media and formal secondary education, as well as informal adult education. The connection between mass media and the more traditional means of education.

VI. As the above will show, there is much work to be done, and there is much discussion to take place in order to set priorities. There is a further question of developing different centres spaced throughout the Caribbean to deal with the matter of language, language study, and language teaching.

JOHN J. FIGUEROA,
Professor of Education,
Head, Department of Education,
Dean, Faculty of Education.

U.W.I., Mona
4/4/67.

APPENDIX III to CREOLE STUDIES

Education in the Developing Caribbean

In introducing my paper, which has already been circulated, it is necessary first of all to deal with a question already raised in discussion: how is it that under the topic of 'education' we have 'language' and the 'creative arts', but nothing on teacher education and professional preparation, nothing on science and education? When the programme was being made up it was decided that 'education' in the sense of teacher preparation, of the training of supervisors, and of the development of curricula suitable to the area, would have been too large a task for this session, would in fact need a conference of its own. For these reasons, and as we have been proposing conferences of many kinds to follow our work here, I have no hesitation in putting forward, and no doubt that you will accept, the idea of a full fledged conference to consider education in the Caribbean.

Further, I rather suspect that Sir Philip and I will convince you of the importance, of the prime importance, of language and of the creative arts in the educational and developmental enterprise in the Caribbean.

Let us take as read my paper "Language, Language Study and Language Teaching in the Caribbean"; I will not comment on it but will lead up to its recommendations from considerations of an educational nature.

The image of explosion has been used by Don Jaime Benitez - the population explosion, the knowledge, and - as he quite rightly expresses it - the explosion of ignorance. It is good, it has also been pointed out, to have - it is necessary to have - disruptive ideas, creatively disruptive ideas. I agree, but let us not explode these ideas only against the traditional. Let us drop a few disruptive depth charges about universities, about science, about technology, about development. Let us be really open-minded - willing to call into question, so as to test and charge if necessary, our dearest ideas. Change is the key concept, change, fruitful change; even as it is in philosophy; change, process (TT & T2 P&C) amidst permanence - if such a thing as permanence does exist! Development assumes change, particularly change in the attitudes and knowledge which people possess. This is where education comes in: it helps people to consider change so as to be able to change themselves; it helps them to select goals, to choose

changes/

changes, but more than the changes themselves - some of which are inevitable - it helps them to select the quality of the changes. It helps them differentiate between necessary conditions for the new birth and the new birth itself. This morning, for instance, when we were speaking about science and technology and the wonders of the jet, and its ability to make conferences like this possible were we speaking of development as human development; or were we rather speaking of the necessary conditions rather than the sufficient causes of development?

Does one have to point out that the jet can also facilitate the speedy dropping of atom bombs, as well as make this con erence possible; that it brings the Mafia to the Bahamas as well as medical supplies? Surely the jet, and the supersonic jet are wonderful developments technologically: does this somehow immediately endow them with human value; do they necessarily make the rebirth actual? One does not wish to enter into propaganda, nor to exaccerbate old wounds, but was not technology rather skilfully and intelligently used at Dachau? No old-fashioned clubbing of people on the head - or hanging - or wasting of the body fats and the gold teeth. Rather, developed assembly line techniques; records, experiments and all that. Gas chambers could not have been possible 150 years ago; they certainly mark a change, a development - shall we also add 'an improvement'?

For what end development? For what, and with what, qualities? What is our vision? What kind of society do we aim for? These questions education must enable us to ask clearly and fairly, and to answer honestly and with conviction, but with humility and flexibility.

Perhaps the more 'developed' countries can afford to ignore these questions; but the developing countries do so at their grave peril. Our history has been such that we tend to react one way or the other with vigour rather than foresight; or we continue to live with anything - what the 'developed' people sometimes call a 'manana' concept, but what is more often the law of survival working itself out in situations most fertile for despair.

As Roach puts it:

> My eyot jails the heart
> And every dream is drowned in the short water
> Too narrow room pressed down
> My years to stunted scrub,
> Blunted my sister's beauty
> And my friend's grave force . . .

Education has to cope not only with the roots of despair and to help us build real hope - through self-knowledge, through a study of our real situation, through the knowledge and practice of love; education has also to face the problem of the tension between mass and quality. A small elite in the Caribbean used to know real quality in certain things; some of this elite used to have standards. As we move to a more democratic form of society we must not commit the elitist sin of pride by saying that we give up quality once we introduce the

mass/

concept. We must have a mass society in the sense that no longer are any to be excluded; but this can, and must, mean more not less emphasis on quality and standards. This state of affairs will be difficult to achieve, and means that we must go for the humanity of the situation regardless of the organisation we choose. That the mass should have educational opportunities is not the question; what kind of opportunities, encouraging what kind of intellectual and moral qualities, is a question much more to the point.

In our countries schooling must be concerned with values. But the problem is that values are never merely verbal; they are related to a certain quality of living, and to a certain organisation of life. Schools and educators have to be aware of this: too many schools, and governments and universities, speak in terms of one set of values but organise themselves according to another. This is not only dishonest but leads to cynicism in the young, and antisocial and selfish attitudes on the part of all. In schools the young get one set of communications from what their mentors say, and another from what their mentors do. What is said as a sign becomes for those who hear it a symbol of something else; what is said is not what is symbolised.

So far our education has tended to be complete outward looking, so in the end, to quote Roach again,

> We take banana boats
> Tourist, stowaway,
> Our luck in hand calypsos in the heart:
> We turn Columbus' blunder back
> From sun to snow, to bitter cities;
> We explore the hostile and exploding zone.

But in the Caribbean our education system, and the practices of the classroom, must teach us that "the hostile and exploding zone" which most needs our exploration is that zone not only of our inner selves but also, and most emphatically, of the societies from which we look to the archipelago and to the wider world.

From this inward examination and outward look we must come to decide whether the present values of the developed countries are necessarily those which we wish to adopt. Or are we to assume that Mafia type organisations, to mention but one North American blight, are the necessary price which we will have to pay for development?

We will underline later in this session the role of the creative arts in the general development of our countries, so I will

not pause over the role of imaginative language, of poetry, in short of all kinds of fiction, in the development of values. In imaginative and creative writing more is said, and more is conveyed, through images and rhythm and intonation, than is immediately apparent. This fact explains both the appeal and the power of fiction, which dredges deeper than the maker of the image realizes, and which in turn penetrates to deeper levels of the psyche than the 'receiver of the message' realises -

> For oft when upon my couch I lie
> In vacant or in pensive mood,
> They flash upon that inward eye
> Which is the bliss of solitude . . . .

What flashes is not only the image but its <u>organisation</u>, and the values which it carries with it. Note for instance the positive values carried in the images of Roach's poem, <u>February</u>, which starts with references to "Trades ardent from the sea..... the month we love..." and ends:

> Out of nurtured earth
> With how and hope and courage
> Shall charm high harvest forth.

With our modern concepts of development some of you might feel that the hoe is not a suitable image, that we will have to substitute something more efficient, more productive. However that may be we will always need hope and courage, and our educational endeavours will be pointless if they do not particularly develop <u>hope</u>.

How do we help to offer hope? What role does education play in this matter? Don Jaime at the very beginning pointed out that education's role is to help us to cope with living as Crusoe did - every man his own Crusoe, so to speak. I would add that education has to help the young to see that although every man is a Robinson Crusoe - and in this sense every man <u>is</u> an island - there are, besides islands, archipelagos.

Likewise in this part of the world it is desparately necessary to develop an expectation of success rather than the present desire, however hidden, for failure. It is so easy to make oneself a true prophet by forecasting failure, and so acting that failure is certain! In our circumstances failure is so much easier to achieve than is success; and to some psychologies (to self hating people) more consoling. We do seem to have an ambivalence not only to the so-called Imperialist overlords, but also to ourselves: we love others, and hate ourselves.

This/

This, incidentally, explains the strong reaction discussed this morning - against visiting experts, and advice from abroad. Once it was felt that if it came from abroad it had to be not only excellent, but palpably better than anything local. As Professor Wright correctly said in this respect the local scientist is not without honour save in his own country - and he might have added the local educator who has seen all sorts of UNESCO, and other, experts come and persuade governments to do things that the local educator will have to live with!

Not only by word but by organisation and action and example we will have to develop confidence in ourselves and hatred for none; an ability to stress success rather than failure; hope rather than bleak, and self-cuddling, despair. Of course efficiency and hard work are co-relatives of hope: they are both causes and effects of success.

Other speakers have outlined the work done by their Faculties. I do not intend to do so, but in order to underline the fact that our work in the Department of Education at the University of the West Indies has always been concerned with the region as a whole, I would like to speak briefly of the work which I personally have done throughout the area. I have given courses, mainly for teachers, in B.H., in the Bahamas, in Tortola, in St. Kitts, in Antigua, in Barbados, in Trinidad and in Guyana. I have also visited in order to give short series of lectures, Puerto Rico, St. Lucia, and Grenada; in these places I have often done advice work for governments as well. I have spoken in, and visited, Cartagena and Bogota in Columbia, the University of Florida at Gainesville, and the University of Miami in Miami. Most of my colleagues in the Department of Education have also given courses throughout the length and breadth of the area. From the very nature of their work, the two other departments of the Faculty -- i.e. the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and the Institute of Education - have likewise made a continuous contribution to the University presence in the whole area.

It is now time to ask how are the values and qualities and aims so far set out related to the question of language and language study and language teaching.

Let me for a start quote from Michael Polanyi:

> "At the age of 15 to 18 months the mental development of the chimpanzee is nearing completion; that of the child is only about to start. By responding to people who talk to it, the child soon begins to understand speech and to speak itself. By this one single trick in which it surpasses the animal, the child acquires the capacity for sustained thought and enters on the whole cultural heritage of its ancestors.
>
> The gap which separates the small feats of animal and

infant/

> infant intelligence from the achievements of scientific thought is enormous. Yet the towering superiority of man over the animals is due, paradoxically, to an almost imperceptible advantage in his original, inarticulate faculties.. The situation can be summed up in three points. (1) Man's intellectual superiority is almost entirely due to the use of language. But (2) man's gift of speech cannot itself be due to the use of language and must therefore be due to pre-linguistic advantages. Yet (3) if linguistic clues are excluded, men are found to be only slightly better at solving the kind of problems we set to animals. From which it follows that the inarticulate faculties - the potentialities - by which man surpasses the animals and which, by producing speech, account for the entire intellectual superiority of man, are in themselves almost imperceptible. Accordingly, we shall have to account for man's acquisition of language by acknowledging in him the same kind of inarticulate powers as we observe already in animals.
>
> The enormous increase of mental powers derived from the acquisition of formal instruments of thought stands also in a peculiar contrast with the facts collected in the first part of this book, which demonstrate the pervasive participation of the knowing person in the act of knowing by virtue of an art which is essentially inarticulate. The two conflicting aspects of formalized intelligence may be reconciled by assuming that articulation always remains incomplete; that our articulate utterances can never altogether supersede but must continue to rely on such mute acts of intelligence as we once had in common with chimpanzees of our own age.

"Man's intellectual superiority is almost entirely due to the use of language."

The quality of and the nature of man's learning is vastly 'different' because of his ability to use language. But this ability, like all of man's other abilities, has to be learnt. The potential has to be realised; and it must be one of education's main tasks to help children acquire, explore, sharpen, the gift of speech. But education has a greater responsibility in this matter in areas where the language situation is confused, where there has been creolisation, where there is a wide spectrum into which various languages have been broken by the facts of culture and language contact. Not only has education a responsibility to be much better informed about the whole of the language situation in the Caribbean and about its sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic implications, it must face the fact also that until it is

better/

better informed in these matters its efficiency in every field is bound to be seriously impared. For while human learning, especially in schools, should never be verbal and only verbal, most of itcannot take place without an element of language. The truism has to be stressed that a child who has not learned to use, in its multitudinous variety, some fairly standard language simply will not have the opportunity to learn as efficiently and humanely as he could, a variety of 'subjects' stretching from history to physics and beyond.

The socio-political implications of language learning for our societies must also be faced. Democracy cannot work without communication. Yet in what language is the Jamaican worker to communicate whether in the court-room, or with the civil servants, or with the "boss"? Admittedly more than language is needed for this kind of communication - but never <u>less</u> than.

How can our imprecise speech carry on modern technology and business? One so often hears completely wrong information being given not because of a desire to deceive but because of an inability to use any language, whether 'creole' or 'standard', with any accuracy or point. I recently heard a conversation between a North American visitor and a middle class Trinidadian clerk which was, in one sense, enlightening. They seemed unable to convey to each other the time at which the Travellers Cheques had been lost - and this was mainly because the Trinidadian did not seem to have at his command indicators (certainly not <u>easily recognisable</u> indicators) of past and present. As so often happens in my Spanish, and always in my French, so in the Trinidadian clerk's English, everything 'happens' in the present!

As pointed out in the paper which I have circulated these matters also have socio- and psycho-linguistic overtones. Is there not a close correlation between class and the kind of language spoken? What is the connection between the language background of a child and the concepts which he easily forms? How can education proceed efficiently if we do not know more about these and other allied questions? Further, the Caribbean area is a splendid one in which to study these matters, not only for ourselves, but also so as to throw light on the nature of language, on creolisation, on language learning, on concept formation through language experience, and so on. Questions abound in these fields; the Caribbean offers an excellent laboratory in which they may be examined.

So much, then, for the relation between language and language study and education. But what is the hope that the Caribbean, through efficient education, can offer? The hope is that of showing to the

world/

world, the way to true human development - human development out of most unpromising and inhuman circumstances. The Caribbean is the laboratory in which the whole human family can remind itself that there is such a thing as the human family. And unless this is done all our schemes for "development" will be empty.

We know many peoples, many tribes
We are them. We are witnesses to
The new annointment that came
With Christ:
The love
From doubtful births,
From the human desire
To put away the strange
Paternity,
From the infinite

Further: Receptivity of a woman
Who knows more than can be known
We witness that no human mixture
Is miscegenation
That what comes out of a man
defiles:
Alien for brother;
Mine for ours
Race for culture.*

A further contribution which this Caribbean area can make on a very practical and important level is the contribution to the study of language, language teaching, and the relationship of language and society. It is for this reason that my paper sets out in detail, from page 4 to the end, the scholarly activities for which we should plan. I had hoped that during this Conference we would have discussed the activities suggested, and set out a suitable list of priorities. However, quite rightly, this has not been the way in which we have worked. I therefore suggest - in fact strongly recommend- that a survey similar to the one suggested for Science be carried out. It is time for a careful and creative rationalisation of the language work which has been going on in various places throughout the Caribbean for some while. Work has been done in Haiti, in Surinam, in Jamaica and in Puerto Rico, to mention a few places. This work, however, has tended to be carried on in isolation. It also needsmuch more financial support than it has been able to command so far. I suggest a Working Party to survey the work, and to suggest plans for rationalisation and further development.

* From the Caribbean, with love. John Figueroa.

There is another fact about the languages of the Caribbean, whether of the standard variety or of the Creoles, which is most important to the understanding and to the development of the Caribbean: namely that all these languages go across national barriers. Spanish is used as much in Cuba as it is in Puerto Rico, English is the language of Jamaica as well as of Trinidad; moreover the Creoles of English stretch over the whole area, and the Creoles of French are mutually understandable. not only in the Caribbean but also in Mauritius and New Orleans. This means that the limited nineteenth century kind of nationalism which many are trying to impose on the area is most unnatural to the area, and really much too small a notion to contribute to the creative development of the Caribbean. It is not only that Caribbean history bears many likenesses, it is also that there are many languages in common spreading across national barriers, even though at the same time there are languages not held in common, which tend to separate the people of the Caribbean. But the separations have not been mainly across national barriers as is the case with German and French, in Europe, for instance.

It is perhaps important to make the point that in asking for closer Caribbean unity, and for a consciousness of the unity that is already inherent in the situation, one is not saying that there are not differences to be found. Of course, all of us will tend to prefer our homes.....

"For, on each wave of his far voyages,
Even in Circe's arms,
Odysseus yearns for the sun-drenched,
Wind-blistered, rain-sweetened kingdom
Where he walked barefoot in baronies of cane
And fiefs of corn and yams
In the sound of private seas..."

A careful study of the language situation, and of its concomitant socio- and psycho-linguistic facts, should enable us to introduce into our education system and into every activity in the classrooms realism and humility. Our education tends to have an unbelievable air of unreality about it. Paradoxically I believe that this is not so much because it deals with foreign matters, but rather that the situation is the other way around. It tends to deal heavily with foreign matters because there is little commitment to the idea that education should deal with the actuality of the situation of the child and of his society.

This encouragement of realism and humility must be one of the main aims of education in our area - especially in the Anglo-phone West Indies, which are rich in many ways, but are in others profoundly poor, and are by any standards very small. The Dominican Republic alone has a population greater than that of the whole Anglo-phone West Indies,

and/

it can only do us good to hear of the numbers of universities and university students in places like Puerto Rico and Colombia. No development is possible for us until we accept the rigors of realism and humility.

I end then with two action points -

1. A Working Party to survey the language work already done, and to recommend priorities and a rationalisation of effort, and a search for funds to support the needed efforts.

2. A well planned and creatively organised regional Working Conference on the needs, organisation, aims and methods of education in the Caribbean region.

Although education is not magic, it can do much provided that some sections of the community will take, with humility, the responsibility of leading and planning and stimulating discussion. It must help us to see that throughout the Caribbean we are pressed upon by certain dreadful necessities which we can only creatively use by exercising the greatest of foresight and of responsibility and of effort.

"So, (to quote Roach for the last time)

from my private hillock
In Atlantis I join cry;
Come, seine the archipelago;
Dredge in the sea; gather the island's hills
Into the blue horizons of our love."

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April, 1967

(Restencilled /nw
March, 1968)

Appendix IV

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